

6

A SIXTH
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE CITIZENS,
AND
FREE-HOLDERS,
OF THE
CITY of DUBLIN.



Lucas (Charles) M.P.

K

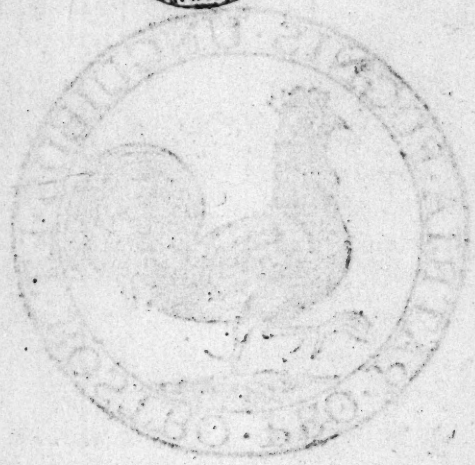
DUBLIN:

Printed for JAMES KELBURN in
George's-Lane, 1748.

[Price, two Pence.]

ns

A SIXTH
ADDRESSES
TO THE
FRIENDS OF THE
ARTS
OF THE
CITY OF BATH



DUBLIN:
Printed by James Kebley in
George's Alley, 1748.
[Price two Pence.]

A SIXTH
ADDRESS
TO THE
FREE CITIZENS,
AND
FREE-HOLDERS,
OF THE
CITY of DUBLIN.

MEN and BRETHREN,

THE Matters which I have asserted in my fifth Address, being of the utmost Consequence to you, I shall, as well, for your Satisfaction, as to silence all contentious Cavillers, before I go upon explaining the other *Two Estates*, offer you the main Evidence, on which the principal Assertions therein are founded.

THIS I shall do, by tracing out the *Original Contract*, and giving you some Sketches of the History, of the principal *Charters or Statutes of Liberties*, granted or passed,

passed, in *England*, which relate to us ; particularly a fair Translation of King *John's* MAGNA CHARTA.

I shall begin with *William* the *Norman*, commonly and untruly called, the *Conqueror* ; and produce some authentic Testimony of what our Constitution was then, by him confessed and declared.

THIS *illegitimate Tyrant*, by Force of Arms, possessed himself of absolute Power, in *England* ; and by the Strength of *Foreign Mercenaries*, for some time, suppressed the common Rights of the People, and dashed the national Constitution in sunder.

BUT, wisely judging a *Titule by Conquest* very precarious, he chose to exchange it for a *constitutional Titule*. So waving and disclaiming all Right and Titule to the Crown, by Conquest, without presuming to make any Variation, or Alteration in the fundamental Principles, or essential Form of this Constitution, or Government ; he entered into the ORIGINAL CONTRACT with the People ; *covenanting* to govern them by *the good, approved and antient Laws of the Realm*. And it is evident, that soon after this Covenant, he called and held COMMUNE CONCILIUM REGNI, the *Two Estates* of Lords and Commons, since called the Parliament, and passed several Statutes. But, particularly, the memorable one, in the fourth Year of his Reign, which was in the Year of Christ 1071, called his MAGNA CHARTA ; of the principal Paragraph, of which, the following is a just Translation.

“ WE will and agree, that all the Freemen of the whole Monarchy of our Kingdom, shall have and hold their Lands and Possessions, peaceably and freely, from every unjust Exaction, and from every Tax. So that nothing shall be taken or exacted from them, except their *Free Service*, which they ought of Right to do, and are bound to do, for Us, as it is statuted and conceded to them, as their HEREDITARY RIGHT for ever, by Us and Our Common Council, of Our whole Kingdom.”

IT must be confessed, that this King, as well as many of his Successors, violated this sacred Bond, and governed Arbitrarily. But it is as observable, that the Spirit of Liberty

ty was suppressed, not totally extinguished : That the Lords and Commons strongly adhered to the national Constitution, and watched for every Opportunity of asserting and vindicating it : That they often admitted, sometimes invited to the Throne some promising Princes, who shewed a willing Mind and Intention to restore the Constitution, regardless of some, who did not understand or regard it, tho' they stood nearer, in Consanguinity and the ordinary Line of Descent. Of these we are furnished with sundry Examples, in the subsequent Reigns. *William* the second and *Henry* the first were preferred to their eldest Brother, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy* ; *Stephen* and *Henry* the second, to *Maud* the Empress ; *John*, to *Arthur*, the Son of his elder Brother *Jeffery* Earl of *Anjou*, *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, to the House of *York* ; with many others of later Date.

AN other *Charter* or Statute of the Rights and Liberties of the People, was granted or passed by *Henry* the first at his Coronation, in the Year 1100 and a Duplicate thereof, under the great Seal, was sent to every Sheriff in *England*. From the only one of these, which escaped the succeeding Convulsions of the Government, and which fell into the Hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, above an hundred Years after, were drawn the Heads of that great Statute, called King *John's* MAGNA CHARTA, which was agreed on, and passed, by the King, Lords and Commons, at *Running-Mead*, in the 17th Year, of his Reign, and put under the Great Seal, as the strongest and most conclusive Evidence of the Facts therein contained, that may be possibly produced, by the Subject against the Crown.

As the passing this Charter is a Matter of the last Moment to all his Majesty's Subjects, as well as to you, MY BRETHREN, I judge it proper to give you some Account of its Rise and Progress.

JOHN, upon the Death of his Brother King *Richard*, taking the Advantage of the Minority and Weakness of his Nephew *Arthur*, and his Niece *Eleanor*, both Orphans, the Issue of his elder Brother *Jeffrey* Earl of *Anjou*, the Nephew not above 13 Years old, seized, and possessed himself

cf

of *Normandy*, and fought after *Anjou*, and other Territories of this young Prince. Upon an offer and solemn Promises and Engagements made, *to restore all Men to their Rights and Liberties and to govern by the national Constitution*, he was preferred and called, by the Lords and Commons to the Throne. He was but ill established in his foreign Dominions, and was necessitated to demand the Attendance and Assistance of his *British* Subject, in some of his Expeditions into *France*; which they, judging it illegal, and anticonstitutional, justly declined: And the rather, because all the principal Places of Honor, Profit or Trust in the State, were then granted to, and possessed by *French Men*, to the utter Discontent of the *English*; and because our Kings, since the *Norman* Invasion, strongly retained a Taint in their Principles of Government, from that of *France*; where being used to govern *despotically*, they frequently attempted to establish the same *arbitrary Power* in *England*, which the People could not bear, and therefore, on all Occasions, opposed.

JOHN, displeased at his *British Subjects*, refusing Attendance and Aids, in his Expeditions into his foreign Dominions, resolved to punish them *Arbitrarily*, and to impose Taxes on them, as he might on his *French Vassals*. And, accordingly, in the fourth Year of his Reign, by the Advice of his *French Minions* and *Ministers*, he imposed an heavy Tax, and exacted it, with the utmost Rigor.

THIS violent *Assumption of Arbitrary Power* soon alarmed the People; and they bravely opposed it. The Lords heading the *Commons*, levied War against the King, after having waited patiently, by milder Means to reclaim him, for about 15 Years, in vain. For he like other Tyrants, took Advantage of the seeming passive Disposition of the People, to impose and levy higher Taxes upon them; So, that, when the civil Wars commenced, the King was able, by the Treasure he had thus, unlawfully amassed, to wage War against them, and to keep *foreign Mercenary Troops* in pay, to enslave his People.

BEFORE the King brought his *Mercenaries* to engage with the *Militia*, under the *Barons*, he was prevailed on, by
Stephen

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to forbear a while, and to call a Parliament, in which *Langton*, laid before them the *Charter* of *Henry* the first, before-mentioned, in which the hereditary Powers, Rights, Liberties and Privileges of the People were established and set forth.

THE Parliament dispatched all the Business of this Session, in Order to consider of proper Means, during the Recess, of asserting their constitutional Rights, agreeable to the above Charter.

IN the mean time, the King was called to visit his favorite, foreign Dominions. The Barons and Commons, taking the Advantage of his Absence, met at *St. Edmund's-Bury*, and there form'd an Association, to use all Means for the Restoration and Re-establishment of the Constitution of their Country.

UPON the King's Return home, the Barons and Commons, in a Body, loyally attended him, and petitioned him, to restore their Rights, agreeable to *Henry* the first's Charter. He mildly, artfully eluded their Demands, by taking three Months time to consider of it. At the Time appointed to receive the King's Answer, the People assembled, and marching towards *Oxford*, were met by a Messenger from the King, who desired to know their Demands? They gave him, in Answer, a Schedule of their Rights, from the above Charter; upon reading which, the King flew into a violent Passion and gave them a positive Denial. The People, enraged at this disappointment, proceeded to the seizing on the King's Castles, Lands, &c. The King finding himself quite forsaken, pretended Peace, received and approved preliminary Articles, or Capitulations, from the People, which he agreed to, and signed with his Seal. Some time after, he called a Parliament at *Running-Mead*, where the following Statute, agreeable to the said Articles, and declaratory of the antient Rights and Liberties, of the Subject, was made and passed, like other antient Statutes, in the Form of a Charter, to which, the great Seal was affixed, and to several Copies or Duplicates thereof, which were Sent to all the Sheriffs of *England*, with orders to publish and observe this great Renewal of the Law.

THE

THE following is a Translation of one of the Originals of this great Charter, still by God's Providence, perfectly preserved in the *Cottonian* Library, tho' it has been, by the publishers of Statutes, Institutes of Law, &c. timidly or artfully omitted, or overlooked.

THE

T H E
G R E A T S T A T U T E
O F T H E
R I G H T S a n d L I B E R T I E S
O F
E N G L A N D,
Commonly Called
M A G N A C H A R T A.

S E C T. I.

JO H N, by the Grace of God, King of *England*,
Lord of *Ireland*, Duke of *Normandy*, *Aquitain*,
and Earl of *Ajou*; To the Archbishops, Bishops,
Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Foresters, Sheriffs,
Provosts, Ministers, and all his Bailifs and his Lieges,
Greeting: KNOW YE, That We, in the Presence of God,
and for the Health of our Soul, and the Souls of all our
Ancestors, and of our Heirs, and for the Honor of God,
and the Advancement of Holy Church, and for the A-
mendment of the Government of our Realm, by the Ad-
vice of our venerable Fathers, *Stephen* Archbishop of *Can-*
terbury, Primate of all *England*, and Cardinal of the holy
Church of *Rome*, *Henry* Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, *William*
Bishop of *London*, *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, *Joscelin*
Bishop of *Bath* and *Glastonbury*, *Hugh* Bishop of *Lincoln*,
Walter Bishop of *Worcester*, *William* Bishop of *Chester*,
Benedict Bishop of *Rochester*, and Master *Pandulph* Sub-
deacon of our Lord the Pope, and of our Friend and
Brother *Eymeric* Master of the Order of Knights Tem-
plars in *England*; And by the Advice of our Noblemen
William Earl Marshal, Earl of *Pembroke*, *William* Earl of
Salisbury,

Salisbury, William Earl of Warren, William Earl of Arundel, Alan of Galloway, Constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerold, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Burgh, Steward of Poitou, Hugh Nevill, Mathew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Bassett, Alan Bassett, Philip D' Aubenie, Robert de Roppel, John Marshal, John Fitz-Hugh, and of our other faithful Commons.

§. II. HAVE, in the first place, conceded to and confirmed to God, by this our present Charter, for Us and for our Heirs for ever; that the Church of *England* shall be Free, and shall enjoy all her Rights and Liberties unhurt; and so is our Will it shall be observed, which appears, forasmuch as we, before the Disagreement between Us, and our Barons, had granted, of our mere and free Will, the Liberty of Elections, which was reputed to be greatly necessary to the Church of *England*, and had confirmed the same by our Charter; and moreover, had procured the same to be confirmed by our Lord Pope *Innocent* the third, which both we will observe, and we will, that the same be, *bonâ fide*, observed by our Heirs for Ever.

§. III. WE have also conceded (i. e. *Agreed*) for us, and our Heirs, that all the Freemen of our Kingdom shall have and hold to them, and their Heirs, for ever, of Us, and our Heirs, all the Liberties under written.

§. IV. IF any of our Earls, or our Barons, or others, that hold of us in Chief by Knight Service, shall die, and at the Time of his Death, his Heir shall be of full Age, and Relief be due, he shall have his Inheritance by the Antient Relief; (*to wit*) the Heir, or Heirs, of an Earl, for an entire Earldom, 100 Pounds, the Heir or Heirs of a Baron, for an entire Barony, 100 Marks, the Heir, or Heirs, of a Knight, for a whole Knight's Fee, 100 Shillings at most, and where less is due, less shall be Paid, according to the Antient Customs of the several Tenures.

§. V. So also, if the Heirs of any such shall be within Age, and in Ward, they shall have their Inheritance when they come of Age, without Relief, and without Fine.

§. VI. THE Guardian of the Land of such Heirs as shall be within Age, shall not take any Thing out of the Land of the Heirs, but only the reasonable Profits, reasonable

able Customs, and reasonable Services, and that without Destruction and Waste of Men or Goods.

§. VII. AND if we shall commit the Custody of any such Land to a Sheriff, or any other who ought to answer to us the Profits thereof; and if he shall make Destruction or Waste of that Wardship, we will require of him Amends, and the Land shall be committed to two Lawful and Discreet Men of that Fee, who shall answer for the Profits to us, or to him, to whom we shall Assign the same.

§. VIII. AND if we shall give, or sell to any Person, the Custody of any such Land, and if he shall make Destruction or Waste therein, he shall lose the Custody, and it shall be delivered to Two lawfull and discreet Men of that Fee, who shall likewise answer to us, as is abovesaid.

§. IX. So also, the Guardian, so long as he shall hold the Custody of the Land, shall sustain the Houses, Parks, Ponds, Pools, Mills, and other Things, to that Land appertaining, out of the Profits of the same Land, and shall render to the Heir, when he shall come to full Age, all his Land, well stocked with Ploughs and Wains, according to what the Time of the Wainage shall require, and the Profits of the Land may reasonably afford.

§. X. HEIRS shall be married without Disparagement; yet so that before Matrimony be contracted, the same be shewed to the next of Kin of the same Heir.

§. XI. THE Widow, after the Death of her Husband, shall forthwith, and without any Difficulty, have her Marriage, and her Inheritance; neither shall She give any thing for her Dower or for her Marriage, or for her Inheritance; which Inheritance her Husband and she held on the Day of her Husband's Death, and she shall remain in her Husband's House forty Days after his Death, within which her Dower shall be Assigned to her.

§. XII. No Widow shall be obliged to marry herself, whilst she shall be willing to live without a Husband; yet so as she give Security, that she will not Marry herself without our Consent if she holds of us, or without the Consent of her Lord of whom she holds, if she hold of any other.

§. XIII. NEITHER we nor our Bialiffs will feize any Land nor Rent for any Debt, so long as the Goods of the Debtor are sufficient to pay the Debt; nor shall the Sureties of the Debtor be distrained, so long as he, the Principal Debtor, is sufficient to pay the Debt.

§. XIV. AND if the Principal Debtor shall fail in Payment of the Debt, the Sureties shall answer the Debt; and, if they will, they shall have the Lands and Rents of the Debtor, until they shall be satisfied the Debt which they shall before pay for him, unless the Principal Debtor shew that he is discharged thereof against the same Sureties.

§. XV. IF any one shall borrow any thing of *Jews*, more or less, and die before that Debt be paid, the Debt shall not carry Interest so long as the Heir is under Age, of whomesoever he holds; and if that Debt shall fall into our Hands, we will not take any thing, but the Goods contained in the Deed.

§. XVI. AND if any one shall die, and owe a Debt to *Jews*, his Wife shall have her Dower, and shall pay nothing of that Debt; and if the Children of the Deceased, who shall be within Age, shall remain, Necessaries shall be provided for them according to the Value of the Tenement which was the Deceased's, and out of the Residue, the Debt shall be paid, saving the Services due to the Lord: In like Manner shall it be done concerning Debts which shall be owing to others than *Jews*.

§. XVII. No Escuage, (i. e. *Taxes for the Helmet, or War,*) or Aid shall be imposed within our Kingdom, but by the Common Council of our Realm, (i. e. by the Parliament) unless it be to Ransom our Person, and to make our eldest Son a Knight, and to Marry our eldest Daughter once; and for these Things the Aid shall be but reasonable (or *Moderate*.)

§. XVIII. IN like Manner shall it be done, concerning Aids from the City of *London*.

§. XIX. AND, moreover, the City of *London* shall Enjoy all her Antient Liberties, and free Customs, as well by Land as by Water.

§. XX.

§. XX. MOREOVER, we Will and Concede (*i. e. Agree*) That all other Cities, and Boroughs, and Towns, and Ports, shall have all their Liberties and free Customs.

§. XXI. AND to have the Common Council of the Kingdom, *i. e. the Parliament*) to Aides (*i. e. to give*) Aids (otherwise than in the Three Cases aforesaid) or for the Assessing (*i. e. Giving and Ascertaining*) Escheuage (*i. e. Taxes for carrying on Wars,*) we will cause the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and greater Barons, to be summoned by our Writs (*or written Letters*) under Seal; and, moreover, we will cause our Sheriffs and Bailiffs, to summon all those in General, who hold of us in Chief (*meaning the Commons*) at a certain Day, to wit, at the End of forty Days at the least, and at a certain Place: and in all our Writs (*or written Letters*) of that Summons, the Cause of such Summons shall be expressed; and, such Summons being made, the business shall proceed at the Day appointed, according to the Council of those who shall be present, although all that are summoned do not come (*or appear.*)

§. XXII. WE will not Concede, (*or Agree*) for the future, that any Man shall take Aids of his Freemen, but only to ransom his Person, to make his eldest Son a Knight, and to marry his eldest Daughter once; and for these Things the Aid shall be but Reasonable (*or Moderate.*)

§. XXIII. No one shall be distrained to do greater Service for a Knight's Fee, or for any other Freehold, than what is therefrom due.

§. XXIV. COMMON PLEAS shall not follow our Court but shall be held in some certain Place.

§. XXV. RECOGNIZANCES (*i. e. the Judicature*) of Novel, Disseisin, Mortdancer, and Darrein Presentment, shall not be taken any where, but in their proper Counties; and in this Manner We, or our Chief Justice (if ourselves be out of the Realm) will send Two Justices through every County Four Times a Year, who with four Knights of every County, to be chosen by the County, shall take the said Assizes, (*i. e. the Cognizance and Tryal*) in the County, at the Day and Place of the County Court; and if the said Assizes cannot be taken upon that Day, so many Knights, and Freeholders, of them that were present in the

the County Court that Day, shall stay, by whom Judgements (*i. e. Justice*) may be sufficiently done according to what the Business shall be, Greater, or Less.

§. XXVI. A FREEMAN shall not be amerced for a small Offence, but according to the Quantity of such Offence, and for a greater Offence, he shall be amerced according to the Greatness of his Offence, saving his Contenement; and a Merchant saving his Merchandize; and a Villain, in like manner, shall be amerced, saving his Wainage, if he incurs our Amercement; and none of the said Amercements shall be affected but by Oath of Good and Lawful Men of the Neighbourhood.

§. XXVII. EARLS and Barons shall not be amerced but by their Peers; nor otherwise than according to the Quality of the Offence.

§. XXVIII. No Clerk shall be amerced concerning his Lay Fee, but in like Manner as others afore said, and not according to the Quantity of his Ecclesiastical Benefice.

§. XXIX. No Village nor any Man shall be distrained to make Bridges at the River Banks, but those who antiently, and of Right, ought to make them.

§. XXX. No Sheriff, Constable, Coroners, or other our Bailiffs, shall hold Pleas of the Crown.

§. XXXI. ALL Counties, Hundreds, Wa pentakes, and Tithings, shall be at the antient Farms, without being raised, except our own Demesne Manors.

§. XXXII. If any Person holding of us a Lay-Fee, die, and our Sheriffs, or other our Bailiffs, shew our Letters Patents of Summons for a Debt which the Deceased owed to us, it shall be lawful for our Sheriff or Bailiff, to Attach, and Inventory the Goods of the Deceased, found upon his Lay-Fee, to the Value of that Debt, by the View of lawful Men; yet so, as nothing thereof shall be removed, 'till such time as the Debt, which shall be clear, shall be paid, and the Residue shall be left to the Executors to perform the Will of the Deceased; and if nothing be owing to us from him, all his Goods shall go to the Deceased, saving to his Wife and Children their reasonable Parts,

§. XXXIII.

§. XXXIII. IF any Freeman shall die Intestate, his Goods shall be distributed, by the Hands of his near Kindred and Friends, by the View of Holy Church, saving to every one, the Debts which the Deceased owed him.

§. XXXIV. No Constable, or other our Bailiffs, shall take the Corn, or other Goods, of any Person, unless he forthwith pay for the same, or have Time given him with the Consent of the Seller.

§. XXXV. No Constable shall distrain any Knight, to give Monies for Castle-Guard, if he will perform it in his own proper Person, or by another good Man, if he cannot perform it himself for some reasonable Cause : And if we lead him, or send him, into the Army, he shall be discharged of Castle-Guard, for so long Time as he shall be with us in the Army.

XXXVI. No Sheriff, or Bailiff, or others, shall take the Horses, or Carts, of any Freeman, for making Carriage, unless it be with the Leave of such Freeman.

§. XXXVII. NEITHER will we, nor our Bailiffs, take another Man's Wood for our Castles, or other Occasions, unless it be with the Consent of him whose Wood it shall be.

§. XXXVIII. WE will not hold the Lands of those who shall be convicted of Felony, except for one Year and one Day, and then the Lands shall be restored to the Lords of the Fees.

§. XXXIX. ALL Wears shall, from this Time forward, be wholly put down, from the *Thames*, and from the *Medway*, and throughout all *England*, except upon the Sea Coast.

§ XL. THE Writ which is called *Precipe*, shall not, for the future, be made to any one, of any Tenement, whereby a Freeman may lose his Court.

§. XLI. ONE Measure of Wine shall be used throughout our Kingdom, and one Measure of Ale, and one Measure of Corn, to wit, the *London Quarter* : And there shall be one Breath of dy'd Cloth, Ruffets, and Haubergets, to wit, two Ells within the Lifts.

§. XLII. CONCERNING Weights, it shall be as of Measures.

§. XLIII.

§. XLIII. NOTHING shall be given or taken for the future, for a Writ of Inquisition, concerning Life or Member; but such Writ shall be granted *Gratis*, and shall not be denied.

§. XLIV. IF any Person hold of us by Fee-Farm, or by Soccage, or by Burgage, and shall hold Land of others by Knight Service, we will not have the Custody of the Heir, nor of his Land, which is of the Fee of another, by reason of such Fee-Farm, or of Soecage, or Burgage; neither will we have the Custody of that Fee-Farm, or Soccage, or Burgage, unless that Fee-Farm owes Knight Service.

§. XLV. WE will not have the Wardship of the Heir, or of the Land of any Person, which he holds of another by Knight Service, by reason of any Petit Serjeantry, which he holds of us, as by the Service of rendring to us Knives, or Arrows, or such-like.

§. XLVI. No Bailiff, for the future, shall put any Man to his Law, upon his bare Complaint, without good Witnesses in that Behalf produced.

§. XLVII. No Freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned, or disseized, or outlawed, or exiled, or in any manner destroyed; nor will we go upon him, nor send others upon him, but by the lawful Judgment of his Peers, or by the Law of the Land.

§. XLVIII. WE will neither sell, nor deny, nor delay Right or Justice to any Man.

§. XLIX. ALL Merchants shall have Safety and Security to go out of *England*, and come into *England*, and stay, and go through *England*, as well by Land as by Water, to buy and sell without any Evil Tolls, paying the antient and rightful Customs, except in Time of War: And if they shall be of a Country in War against us, and shall be found in our Land in the Beginning of the War, they shall be attached, but without Injury to their Bodies or Goods, until it shall be known to us, or to our Chief Justice, how the Merchants of our Land are treated, who shall be found in the Country at War against us; and if ours be safe there, they shall be safe in our Land.

§. L.

§. L. IT shall be lawful for every Man, for the future, to go out of our Kingdom, and to return safely and securely, by Land and by Water, saving their Faith due to us, unless it be in Time of War, for some short Time, for the common Profit of the Realm; except Prisoners and outlaw'd Persons, according to the Law of the Land, and the Nation in War against us, and Merchants, concerning whom it shall be done, as is aforesaid.

§. LI. IF any one shall hold of any Escheat, as of the Honor of *Wallingford*, *Nottingham*, *Boloin*, *Lancaster*, or of other Escheats which are in our Hand, and are Baronies, and shall die, his Heirs shall not give any other Relief, nor do us any other Service, than was made to the Baron, if such Barony had been in the Hands of the Baron; and we will hold the same in like manner, as the Baron held it.

§. LII. MEN who dwell out of the Forest, shall not appear, for the future, before our Justices of the Forest, by common Summons, unless they be in Suit themselves, or Bail for others, who are attached for the Forest.

§. LIII. WE will not make Justices, Constables, Sheriffs, or Bailiffs, but of such as know the Law of the Land, and will well observe it.

§. LIV. ALL who have founded Abbeyes, whereof they have Charters from Kings of *England*, or antient Tenure, shall have the Custody thereof when they are vacant, as they ought to have.

§. LV. ALL the Forests that have been afforested in our Time, shall forthwith be disforested.

§. XVI. AND so shall it be done of River-Banks, which, by us, in our Time, have been erected for Defence of those Rivers.

§. LVII. ALL evil Customs of Forests and Warrens, and of Foresters and Warreners, of Sheriffs and their Ministers; and of River-Banks, and of their Keepers, shall forthwith be enquired of in every County, by Twelve Knights Sworn of the same County, who ought to be chosen by the good Men of the same County: And within Forty Days after such Inquisition made, the said evil Customs shall be utterly abolished, by those same Knights,

so as never to be revived, provided they be first made known to us or to our Chief Justice.

§. LVIII. ALL Hostages and Charters we will forthwith restore, which have been delivered to us by the *English*, for Security of the Peace, or of Faithful Service.

§. LIX. WE will wholly remove from Bailiwicks, the Kindred of *Gerard de Athyes*, that, for the future, they shall have no Bailiwick in *England*; *Engelard* of *Cygon*, *Andrew*, *Peter*, and *Guyon* of *Cancell*, *Gyon de Cygon*, *Geffry de Martigni*, and his Brothers, *Philip Mark*, and his Brothers, and *Geffry* his Nephew, and the whole Train of them.

§. LX. AND forthwith after restoring the Peace, we will remove out of the Realm, all Foreigners, Knights, Bowmen, Serjeants, and Soldiers, who came with Horse and Arms, to the Annoyance of the Kingdom.

§. LXI. IF any Person hath been disseized, or Eloiined, by us, without the lawful Judgment of his Peers, from Lands, Castles, Liberties, or of his Right, we will forthwith restore those Things to him; and if any Difference arise upon it, then it shall be done therein, by the Judgment of the Five-and-twenty Barons, of whom Mention is made hereafter in Security of the Peace.

§. LXII. TOUCHING all those Things of which any Person hath been disseized or Eloiined, without the lawful Judgment of their Peers, by King *Henry* our Father, or by King *Richard* our Brother, which we have in our Hands, or which others hold, to whom we are bound to warrant the same, we will respit to the common Term of them that have taken the Crusado, except those Things concerning which Suits are commenced, or Inquisition made, by our Command, before our undertaking the Crusado.

§. LXIII. BUT when we shall return from our Pilgrimage, or if, perhaps, we shall desist from our Pilgrimage, we will forthwith exhibit full Justice therein.

§. LXIV. WE will have the same Respect, and in the same manner do Justice, concerning Forests to be disforested, or to continue Forests, which *Henry* our Father, or *Richard* our Brother, afforested: And concerning the Custody

Custody of Lands which are of other Mens Fee, the Custodies whereof, we have hitherto had, by reason of the Fee which any one held of us by Knight's Service; and concerning Abbeyes which have been founded in the Fee of another, than in our own, in which the Lord of the Fee shall say he hath Right : And when we shall return, or if we shall desist from our Pilgrimage, we will forthwith do full Right to all Persons complaining.

§. LXV. No Man shall be Arrested nor Imprisoned for the Appeal of a Woman, for the Death of any other than her Husband.

§. LXVI. ALL the Fines which are made with us unjustly, and against the Law of the Land ; and All Amercements imposed wrongfully, and contrary to the Law of the Land, shall be wholly pardoned, or there shall be done therein, according to the Judgment of the Five-and-twenty Barons, of whom Mention is made hereafter, in the Security of the Peace, or according to the Judgment of the greater Part of them, together with the said *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, if he can be there, and others, whom he shall call to him ; and if he cannot be present, nevertheless the Business shall proceed without him ; so that if any one, or more of the said Five-and-twenty Barons, be concerned in the like Complaint, they shall be Amoved as to the Judgment therein, and others chosen and Sworn, shall be put in their Room, to act in their Stead, by the Residue of the said Five-and-twenty Barons.

§. LXVII. If we have disseized or eloined any *Welshmen* of Land, *Franchises*, or other Things, without the lawful Judgment of their Peers in *England*, or in *Wales*, the same shall forthwith be restored ; and if Contention shall arise thereupon, then it shall be done therein in the *Marches*, by the Judgment of their Peers, concerning Lands of *England*, according to the Law of *England* ; concerning Lands of *Wales*, according to the Law of *Wales* ; concerning Lands of the *Marches*, according to the Law of the *Marches* : The *Welshmen* shall do the same to us, and our Subjects.

§. LXVIII. CONCERNING all these Things, which any of the *Welshmen* have been disseized or eloued, without the lawful Judgment of their Peers, by King *Henry* our Father, or King *Richard* our Brother, which we have in our Hands, or which others hold, to whom we are bound to warrant the same, we respite the same, until the common Term of those that have taken the Crusado; those Things excepted, of which Suits were commenced, or Inquisition taken by our Command, before our undertaking the Crusado.

§. LXIX. WHEN we shall return from our Pilgrimage, or if peradventure we forbear going, we will forthwith cause Justice to be fully done therein, according to the Laws of *Wales*, and the Parties aforesaid.

§. LXX. WE will forthwith restore the Son of *Lewelyn*, and all the Hostages of *Wales*, and the Charters that have been delivered to us, for the Security of the Peace.

§. LXXI. WE will deal with *Alexander* King of *Scotland*, concerning the restoring his Sisters and Hostages, his Franchises, and his Right, according to the Form in which we shall do to our other Barons of *England*, unless it ought to be otherwise, by Virtue of the Charters which we have from his Father *William*, late King of the *Scots*, and this to be by the Judgment of his Peers in our Court.

§. LXXII. ALL these Customs aforesaid, and Franchises, which we have Conceded (*i. e. Agreed*) to be holden in our Kingdom, so far as belongs to us, towards ours, all Men of our Kingdom, as well Clergymen as Laymen, shall observe, so far as belongs to them, towards Theirs.

§. LXXIII. So also, whereas for God's Sake, and for the Amendment of our Government, and the better to compose the Discord sprung up betwixt us and our Barons, we have conceded (*i. e. Agreed*) to all these things, willing, That they be enjoyed for ever, with an entire and firm Stability; we do make and grant to our People, the Security under-written (to wit,) That the Barons shall chuse Five-and-twenty Barons of the Realm, whom they will, who ought, to their utmost Power, observe, hold, and cause to be observed, the Peace and Liberties which we have conceded to, and by this our present Charter have confirmed;

confirmed ; so, to wit, that if we, or our Justice, or our Bailiffs, or any of our Ministers, shall, in any thing towards any Man, fail to do Right, or shall Transgress any of the Articles of this Peace, or Security, and such FAILURE to do Right, shall be shewn to four Barons of the said five-and-twenty Barons. Those four Barons shall come to us, or to our Justice, if we shall be out of the Realm, propounding to us the Excess, and praying, that we will cause the Excess to be without Delay, amended : And if we shall not amend such Excess, or if we shall be out of the Realm, and our Justice shall not amend it, within the Space of forty Days, to be computed from the Time, when it shall be shewed to us, or to our Justice (if we be out of the Realm ;) then the said four Barons, shall report the Cause to the Residue of the said five-and-twenty Barons, and those five-and-twenty Barons, with the Commonalty of the whole Land, shall, and may distress and grieve us, by all the means they can ; to wit, by taking Castles, Lands, Possessions, and by such other Means, as they can, untill it shall be amended, according to their Judgment, saving our Person, and the Persons of our Queen, and of our Children : And when it shall be amended, they shall obey us as before.

§. LXXIV. AND whosoever of the Realm will, may swear, in order to execute all the Things aforesaid, that he will obey the Commands of the said Five-and-twenty Barons, and that he, with them, will, to his Power, grieve us ; and we will publickly and freely give Liberty of swearing, to every one that will swear, and will never prohibit any one to Swear.

§. LXXV. ALSO, all those of the Realm, who, for themselves, and of their own Accord, will swear to the twenty-five Barons, to distress and grieve us, we, together with them, will, by our Command, cause them to swear to the said Barons, as is aforesaid.

§. LXXVI. AND if any of the said five-and-twenty Barons shall die, or withdraw out of the Realm, or shall be in any way hindred, whereby they cannot execute the Things aforesaid, the Residue of the said five-and-twenty Barons, shall chuse another in his Place, for his Judgment,

ment, who shall be, in like manner, Sworn as the rest were.

§. LXXVII. So also, in all Things which are committed to the said five-and-twenty Barons to be Executed, if by Chance they, the said five-and-twenty, shall not be present, or shall disagree about the Matters left to them, or any of those that are summoned, cannot, or will not, come, it shall be accounted authentick and firm, whatsoever the major Part of them, who shall be present, shall provide and command, as if all the Five-and-twenty had joined therein, and consented.

§. LXXVIII. AND the said Five-and-twenty Barons shall swear, that they will faithfully observe all the Matters aforesaid, and, to the utmost of their Power, cause them to be observed.

§. LXXIX. AND we will not obtain from any one by ourselves, or by any other, any thing whereby any of these Concessions (*i. e. Agreements*) or any of these Liberties, shall be revoked, or weakened; and if any such thing shall be obtained, it shall be null and void, and shall never be made Use of by us, nor by any other.

§. LXXX. AND all Ill-will, Resentments, and Rancor, sprung up between us, and our People, Clergymen and Laymen, from the Time of the Discord, we do fully remit to, and pardon them all.

§. LXXXI. FURTHERMORE, all Trespasses committed by Occasion of the said Discord, since *Easter*, in the Sixteenth Year of our Reign, until Peace be established, we do fully remit to all Men, Clerks, and Laymen, and, so far as concerns us, do fully pardon.

§. LXXXII. AND moreover, we have caused to be made to them, Letters Patent, testified by *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Henry* Archbishop of *Dublin*, and by the Bishops aforesaid, and by Mr. *Pandulphus*, upon this Security, and the Concessions (*i. e. Agreements*) aforesaid.

§. LXXXIII. WHEREFORE we will, and strictly command, that the Church of *England* be free, and that the Men in our Kingdom shall have and hold all the said Liberties, Rights, and Concessions (*i. e. Agreements*) well, and

and in Peace, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to them, and their Heirs, of us, and our Heirs, in all Things and Places, for ever, as is aforesaid.

§. LXXXIV. So also, it is now Sworn, as well on our Part, as on the Part of the Barons, that all these Matters aforesaid, shall, *Bonâ Fide*, and without artful Evasions, be observed.

§. LXXXV. THE Persons aforesaid, and many others, being Witnesses; given by our own Hand, in the Meadow which is called *Running Mead*, between *Windelesor* and *Stanes*, the fifteenth Day of *June*, in the seventeenth Year of our Reign.

THUS was the national Constitution again restored. The prevailing Discords, between the King and People, by this Renewal of the *Original Contract*, were happily composed, and a sure Remedy provided against the like Inconveniences for the Future.

THIS Charter is but an Exemplification of the common Law of *England*, in these Points. And its being recorded in the form of a Charter, was chiefly to bind the *Norman Kings*, that they should not break in upon the Constitution. This then is a Summary of the native and Inherent Rights and Privileges of British Subjects, which being held or derived from no King, it cannot be in any King's Power to abrogate or invade them.

BUT Such is the insatiable, wicked Itch of boundless Power, that commonly attends Men in high Places, that the Counsellors of the Crown, in those Days, as soon as Peace was established, laid themselves out for all Means and Opportunities of destroying this great Security of the public Liberties, nay, of the Government its Self! For, tho' many Duplicates of this, and former Charters were passed, under the great Seal, and dispersed thro' the Hands of Barons, Bishops, Abbots, Sheriffs, and other Ministers and Officers of the Crown, for their better Preservation, as well as Promulgation, and to enforce the due observance of them; yet, in process of time, they were almost all destroyed. For at the passing this Charter,

ter, there was but one of King *Henry* the first's to be found ; and at the passing the Charter of *Henry* the third, hereafter mentioned, we can find none of these to be had, such has always been the Diligence and Industry of bad Princes and wicked Ministers to destroy the Traces of our Constitution, as the Sole, certain Method of establishing a Despotic Government.

THIS great Charter is to be accounted an Act of Parliament, to all Intents, and purposes, declaratory of the antient Common Law of *England*, and is comprised in the *Original Contract*, and as Such is to be observed and performed by King and People for Ever.

WHEN the People demanded the Benefits of the Liberties granted to them by *Magna Charta*, King *Henry* the third's evil Counsellors, the better to lull the People into vain content, and to deceive them, commissioned the Sheriffs of the several Counties to impanel Juries and to hold Inquests to ascertain the Liberties in Contest. In such an Enquiry, it is easy to conceive, what imperfect Information must be obtained, from Country Juries, especially, in those Days of Ignorance and Confusion. Yet, even then, tho' most of the Copies of *John's Charter* were suppressed or destroyed, the Impression of it, as well, as the native Sense of Freedom, stuck so Strongly, even, on the most mean and vulgar Minds, that in answer to their loud Demands, in the ninth Year of this Kings's Reign, another great Charter, upon much the same Plan and Principles with the former, was passed ; but by the Wiles of some prostituted Slaves in the Ministry, with a wicked Intent to Substract some of the principal Securities of our Government, out of this Charter, some of the most material Articles of *John's Charter*, (to wit) §. XVII. XVIII. XXI. LX. LXXIII. LXXXIV. were omitted. But the Fraud being in part discovered, the XXI. Article was restored and explained, by the Clamor and Struggles of the Parliament.

HOWEVER this King did not long observe his own or his Father's Charter. He was excessively fond of Foreign, Slavish Flatterers, with whom he filled all the valuable Places in the State ; and their Adulation had gained
such

such an Ascendant over him, that he Submitted himself entirely to their Rule and Guidance. And so, by the Instigation of *De Burgo*, his Chief Justice, he, pleading his Father's *Duress* and his own Non-age, at passing these Charters, declared them, in full Parliament, *null and void*, that he would not be bound by either, and in their Presence, cancelled a Duplicate of his *Magna Charta*, by tearing off the great Seal, with his own Hands.

THIS and other Instances of this King's arbitrary Power raised the same Spirit against him, that had been, by the like means, raised against his Father. The Lords and Commons associated against him and his Herd of *foreign Panders* and *Parasites*, and waged War against them. They were in time joined by most of the Bishops, and other good Subjects of the Realm; so that the King was reduced to be the *nominal* Leader, in Fact, the *Dupe*, of a parcel of *French Mercenaries*; which he, tho' late discovered, ordered them to be stripped of their ill gotten Treasure, and banished the Realm, and then, for a while, returned to his Allegiance to the Constitution. He called Parliaments and passed an Act for enforcing the inviolable Observation of *Magna Charta*, and for appointing certain great Men Trustees to see this Act executed. But by hearkening again, to evil Counsel, he was again brought into a Relapse, which put the Lords and Commons, once more, under the necessity of taking Arms against their Tyrant in Defence of their Liberties. In which, being Victorious, they took the King and Prince into their Custody, and kept them for some time Prisoners, till by an ill fated Division among the great Men, he was permitted to Escape, upon promising to restore *Magna Charta*. This Division ruined the Association; so that after the King had made his Escape, he recruited his *foreign Forces*, and forgot, or disregarded all his Promises. But the Spirit of Liberty reanimating and recruiting the broken Lords and Commons, they became, in the end, too powerfull for the King and his Party; so that Matters were, after a Struggle of forty Years, happily compromised between the King and People; the Foreigners were sent Home, and *Magna Charta* with *Charta de Foresta* was, once more, established and confirmed, the 20th Year of

of his Reign, and again confirmed by Act of Parliament the 52d. of the same.

MAGNA CHARTA was three several times confirmed by *Edward* the first; and this, with the Charter of the Forest, was ordered to be sent, under the Great Seal, to Justices of the Forest, Sheriffs and other Officers of the Crown; to all Cities and Cathedral Churches; and that they should be read and published in every County, four stated Days in the Year, and twice in the Year in every Church.

For the Reader's Satisfaction I shall here transcribe King **EDWARD's** Charter of Confirmation, together with the Sentence of the Clergy pronounced upon the Breakers of these Charters. Which shews, that *Laics* and *Ecclesiastics* agreed in asserting and Securing their common Rights and Liberties.

A Confirmation of the CHARTERS of the
Liberties of *ENGLAD*, and of the
 FORREST, made in the 35th Year of
 EDWARD the First.

EDWARD by the Grace of God King of *Eng-land*, Lord of *Ireland*, and Duke of *Aujou* to all those these present Letters shall hear of or be, Greeting :
 KNOW YE, that we to the Honor of God, and of Holy Church, and to the profit of our Realm, have Granted for us and our Heirs, that the Charter of Liberties, and the Charter of the Forrest ; which were made by Common Assent of all the Realm, in the time of King *Henry* our Father, shall be kept in every point without breach. And we will, that the same Charter shall be sent under our Seal, as well to our Justices of the Forrest, as to others, and to all Sheriffs of Shires ; and to all our other Officers, and to all our Cities throughout the Realm, together with our Writs, in which it shall be contained that they cause the aforesaid Charters to be Published, and to declare to the People, that we have Confirmed them in all points. And that our Justicers, Sheriffs, Mayors, and other Ministers, which under us have the Laws of our Land to guide, shall allow the same Charters pleaded before them, in Judgment in all their points, that is to wit, the Great Charter as the Common Law, and the Charter of the Forrest, for the Wealth of our Realm.

Chap. 2. AND we will, that if any Judgment be given, from henceforth, contrary to the points of the Charters aforesaid, by the Justicers, or by any other our Ministers, that hold plea before them, against the Points of the Charters, it shall be undone and holden for nought.

Chap. 3. AND we will, that the same Charters shall be sent under our Seal, to Cathedral Churches throughout our Realm, there to remain, and shall be read before the People two Times by the Year.

Chap. 4.

Chap. 4. AND that all the Archbishops, and Bishops shall pronounce the Sentence of Excommunication against all those that by Word, Deed, or Council, do contrary to the foresaid Charters, or that in any point break or undo them. And that the said Curses, be twice a Year denounced and published by the Prelates aforesaid. And if the same Prelates or any of them, be Remiss in the Denunciation of the said Sentences, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *York*, for the time being, shall compell and distrain them to the Execution of their Duties in form aforesaid.

Chap. 5. AND for so much as divers People of our Realm are in fear, that the Aids and Taxes which they have given to us before-time towards our Wars, and other busineses of their own Grant or good Will, (however they were made) might turn to a Bondage to them and their Heirs, because they might be at another time found in the Rolls, and likewise for the Prizes taken throughout the Realm by our Ministers: We have granted for us and our Heirs, that we shall not draw such Aids, Taxes nor Prices into a Custom, for any that hath been done heretofore, be it by Roll, or any other Precedent that may be founden.

Chap. 6. MOREOVER, we have granted for us and our Heirs, as well to Arch-bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and other folk of Holy Church, as also to Earls; Barons, and to all the Commonalty of the Land, that for no business from henceforth we shall take such manner of Aids, Taxes, or Prices, but by the common assent of the Realm, and for the common profit thereof; saving the Ancient Aids and Prices due and accustomed.

Chap. 7. AND for so much, as the more part of the Commonalty of the Realm find themselves sore grieved with the Maletot of Wools, that is, to wit, a Toll of Forty Shillings for every Sack of Wool, and have made Petition to us for to Release the same: *We* at their Request have clearly Released it, and have granted for us and our Heirs, that we shall not take such things without their common consent and good will, saving to Us and our

our Heirs the Custom of Wools, Skins and Leather, granted before by the Commonalty aforesaid. In Witness of Which things, we have caused our Lettersto be Patent. Witness *Edward* our Son, at *London*, the 10th of *October*, and the twenty-fifth Year of our Reign.

THE SENTENCE of the CLERGY against the BREAKERS of the ARTICLES above Written.

IN the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. *Whereas* our Sovereign Lord the King, to the Honour of God, and of Holy Church, and for the Common profit of the Realm, hath granted for him and his Heirs for ever, these Articles above written; Robert Archb. shop of Canturbury, Primate of all England, admonished all his Province, once, twice, and thrice; Because that shortness will not suffer so much Delay, as to give Knowledge to all the People of England of these presents in Writting. We therefore enjoin all Persons, of what Estate soever they be, that they and every of them, as much as in them is, shall uphold and maintain these Article: granted by our Sov. L. the King in all points. And all those that in any point do resist or break, or in any manner hereafter, procure, Council, or any ways assent to resist or break those Ordinances, or go about it, by word or deed, openly or privily, by any manner of Pretence or Colour: We the aforesaid Archbishops by our Authority in this Writing expressed, do Excommunicate and accurse, and from the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, and from all the Company of Heaven, and from all the Sacraments of Holy Church do Sequester and exclude.

Thus zealous were our Ancestors to preserve their Liberties from Encroachments: For they contented not themselves with the mere Strength of human Policy, but called Religious Obligations to their Aid, to secure their Liberties entire and inviolate.

In the memorable Reign of that great Prince *Edward* the third, MAGNA CHARTA received several Confirmations. In the forty second Year of his Reign it was enacted, that all Statutes against this Declaration of the fundamental Law, should be null and void. And

IN the fourth Year of the Reign of *Richard* the second, it was appointed to be read at the opening the Parliament; being looked upon as the *Foundation* and *Standard* of our Laws. In short, these two Charters have been ratified by 32 different Acts of Parliament.

IT is surprising to find *Coke*, and almost all the Lawyers that cite or set forth *Magna Charta*, cite that of *Henry* the third, only; whereas that of *John*, being equally an Act of Parliament, and equally valid, is quite overlooked. I must look on this seeming Oversight, as a poor Piece of Complaisance, or Servility; for it cannot be Ignorance in these Writers. I have chosen the former, as the most full and perfect Statute, and recommend it to the serious Perusal of all those that regard the National Constitution and their own Freedom and Wellfare. I shall hereafter shew, how every *Irish* Man has an Inheritance in this Charter, as well, as in that granted to this Kingdom, by *Henry* the third, in the first Year of his Reign, which was nine Years before he granted one to *England*, which seems to be but a Copy of ours, with little more Variation, than the Names of Persons, Places and the like. As We are no more confined to this Charter of *Henry* the third, than the *English* are by his to them, I chose to lay before you, that which contains the plainest and fullest Declarations of our Rights and Liberties, which I shall occasionally apply in the Sequel.

No Government can Subsist, in Freedom and Indedence, without keeping up Strictly, a perfect Ballance between the Parts, and obliging the *Head* and every *Member* of the *Body Politic* to discharge its respective Function, within its proper Sphere.

IT is the want of understanding, or regarding this Principle, that has always occasioned Differences between the King and People, and raised those hateful Distinctions of *Court* and *Country* Party. What Slaves, can be so Perverse, so base, or so wicked, as to insinuate, that a King of these Realms can have any Interest, Separate, or distinct from that of his Country, or his People? Both have, and can have, but one common Interest. Every Step the King is Advanced towards an Incroachment on the Rights of the People, so far is he abased and weakened, instead of exalted;

exalted; and the nearer is the national Constitution brought to a final Dissolution. And so on the contrary, the People cannot be safe if their King be Weakened or dishonored; for this must, likewise, endanger the Common Wealth.

THE System of your Constitution, which this Charter exhibits, every Man of what Rank, or Degree soever, is indispensably bound to preserve and to observe. And no Friend to our Establishment can suffer the King, or his Ministers to violate the Obligations on their Parts, any more than they would suffer the Subjects to break Faith and Allegiance to the Government, on theirs.

WE are made free by our Laws, and must continue so, while due Regard is Paid to them. And as they Bind the Small and Great alike, no man can be exempted from them, without doing Violence to the Constitution. As all Men should Combine to Support the Laws of their Country, since upon the due Observance of them depends the well-being of the whole; so all Men should Combine to bring the most Powerfull Delinquents to due Obedience, to the Law, or to condign Punishment.

As he, that Conceals a Traitorous Conspiracy against the Government, is guilty of Treason, and accountable for all the Mischiefs that do, or may, Ensue, for want of a Discovery; so he that sees any Incroachment, made, or likely to be made, on the Rights and Liberties of the People, who are always mostly in danger, from the Power of the great; and does not discover it, is accessary to all the Evils, that may or shall attend his Country: For, as every such Incroachment must tend, directly, or indirectly, to the Subversion of the national Constitution, so every Person, who Countenances or Conceals such Incroachments, is an Enemy to his King and Country, and, in some Degree, a Parricide.

FROM this Principle it is, that I have undertaken this Task, unequal to it as I may be found. If I should be wrong, my good Intentions should plead my Excuse. But it is but Charity to believe me in the Right, till the
contrary

contrary is made to appear, and no Man has publicly, yet, contradicted a single Assertion I have made. If the above Positions be just, judge for your selves, who is most likely to serve you faithfully in Parliament. Enquire whether or no, any Inroachments on the popular Power and Privileges has been made or threatened? And by whom? And who is most likely to contend for Redress of pass'd, and to obviate impending, Grievances? Let this *Charter* be the Test of your Liberties, and weigh these important Matters, as becomes Freemen and good Subjects. Remember that if you be not free, it must be your own Faults. And that, as we bless our Ancestors for leaving us free, so your Posterity will heap Curses on you, if you be in any wise instrumental, or but barely consenting, to the intailing Slavery on them. But of the later I have no Fear, because you have, of late, convinced me, and indeed every Body, that you will assert and vindicate your Rights, as far as they are made known to you; and as far as they have come within my Knowledge, I shall, on this Assurance, open them to your view, if it pleases God to spare the *Freedom of the Press*, and the *Life of*,

MY BEST BELOVED BRETHREN AND FRIENDS,

Yours most faithfully

and affectionately,

C. Lucas.

Dublin Oct.

29th. 1748.

